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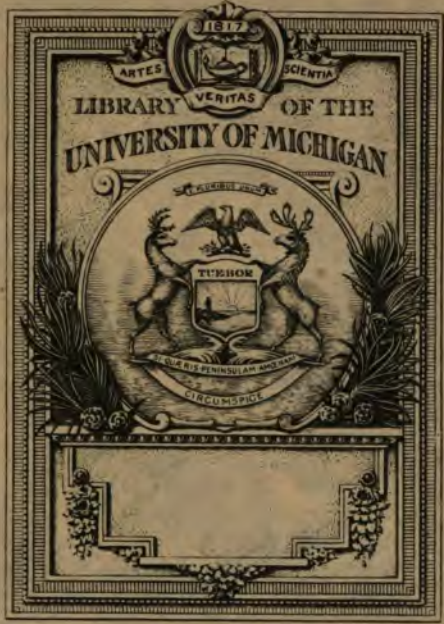
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MEMOIRS
OF
Sir *Walter Raleigh*;

His *Life*, his Military and Naval *Exploits*, his *Preferments* and *Death*:

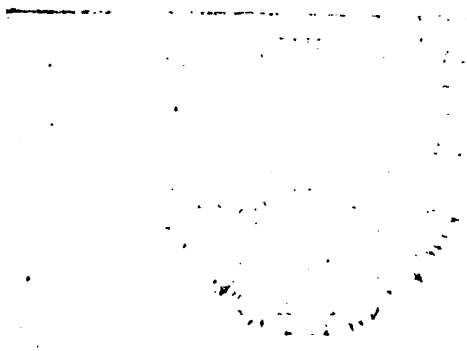
In which are Inſerted,

The Private Intrigues between the Count of *Gondamore*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, and the Lord *Salisbury*, then Secretary of State.

Written by Mr. THEOBALD.

The Second Edition.

LONDON: Printed for *W. Mears*, at the *Lamb* without *Temple-Bar*. 1719.



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MEMOIRS
OF
Sir WALTER RALEIGH, *&c.*

TO treat of a Man like Sir *Walter Raleigh*, of ſuch approv'd Sufficiency, and of ſo diffuſive a Praiſe, ſo equally great in ſo many different Parts of Life, is like attempting a Landſchap from a high Hill, where the Variety and Extent of the Proſpects ſerve rather to confound, than entertain the Eye, and call for Judgment to correct the Fancy, which is too apt to run riot, and eſpecially when employ'd on too many Objects.

Under ſuch Diſadvantages am I to trace Sir *Walter*, thro' a long and mix'd Series of Preferments and Misfortunes: And ſuch were his Excellencies, either as a Stateſman or Soldier, Seamen or Chymiſt, Chronologer or Hiſtorian, that I am at a Loſs to determine upon which of his Characters I ought to be moſt copious. The beſt Method I can propoſe to do him the moſt Juſtice, and make him the leaſt a Sufferer by my own

Inability, is, in his Riſe and Actions, his Advancements and Struggles, to follow the beſt Accounts that are extant of his Times, and to let the Character of his Wit and Learning ſtand on the Credit of his own *Hiſtory*, and thoſe *Remains* of *His* which are happily tranſmitted to Us.

As to his Deſcent, or the particular Time of his Birth, I ſhall paſs them by for Circumſtances of very little Moment: 'twill be ſufficient, to ſatisfy the Over-curious, to take Notice, that he was Born at a Seat of his Family, call'd *Hays*, in the Village of *Budely*, or *Budleigh* in *Devonſhire*. Whatever Honours might belong to the Name of *Raleigh*, before He enobled it, Time has been pretty Silent as to their Eſtates; and our Sir *Walter* ſtarted into the World the youngeſt Brother of his Family. They who envied his Promotions, as it is not to be wonder'd, endeavour'd to rob him of his Gentility: but, to defend Him on that Quarter, it was a Stateſman's Obſervation on *Queen ELIZABETH*, that She, through her whole Reign was never guilty of a haſty Creation, or took into her Favour a meer *new Man*, or a *Mechanick*; a Maxim, which ſucceeding Monarchs have broke through without much Scruple. I remember Sir *Walter* ſomewhere talks of Nobility in Parchment, either purchas'd by the Owner's Vanity, or conferr'd by the Prince's Favour: and *theſe*, ſays He, *are indeed but* Honours *of* Affection, *which Kings, with the Change of their Fancies, wiſh they knew well how to wipe off again.*

Where he took the firſt Impreſſions of Literature, might be a Matter of vain Diſquiſition; tho', probably, it was at ſome private School in the County which claims the Honour of his Birth: And when he was ripen'd to Univerſity Learning, we find him a Member of *Oriel* College in *Oxford*. It has been a Doubt, whether the Slenderneſs of his Fortune, or the Active Diſpoſition and Ambitious Reaches of his Soul, made him ſo reſtleſs and unconfin'd, that he thought an Intenſeneſs to his Studies might be a Bar to his Preferment; and therefore he ſought the firſt Occaſions of gaining a Reputation by Buſineſs and Action.

The

The Author, who has prefix'd His Life to his *History of the World* in Folio, informs us, that Sir *Walter* reſolv'd for one of the *Inns* of *Court*, which he knew were Places of Eſteem with his Queen, and that there he ſpent his Time, and improv'd himſelf in the intricate Knowledge of our Laws: But, I believe, in this Circumſtance there is a Miſtake ſo obvious, that no Merit can reaſonably be aſſum'd from correcting it: for Sir *Walter* upon his Arraignment, in a Reply to the Attorney-General, lays a heavy Imprecation upon himſelf, *if ever he read a Word of the Law, or Statutes, before he was a Priſoner in the Tower.*

Sir *Walter*, whoſe Aim was to recommend himſelf early to the Notice of the World, had the Advantage of a ſtirring Age to ſecond his Ambition. *France* was then imbroil'd in Civil Feuds; *England*, to divert a threaten'd Danger from the growing Power of *Spain*, lent Aſſiſtance to the then diſtreſs'd and humble *Hollanders*: *Spain*, by a political Reprizal, rais'd ſtrong Commotions in *Ireland*; and the *Pope*, to make Rebellion more laſting, and give it the neceſſary Colour of Religion, pretended that Kingdom was a Perquiſite of St. *Peter*. Sir *Walter*, in the heat of theſe Diſtractions, thruſt himſelf into Arms, and made ſome Campaigns in *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and *Ireland*. But here he found his Succeſs, or Encouragement, ſo ſmall, and Reputation ſo ſlowly attending his Exploits, that he was reſolv'd to try how far a Sea-Voyage might improve his Fortune, or extend his Character. His Thirſt of Honour, and Impatience of a Condition below his Spirit, made him a Pattern of Induſtry in every Employment. The ſcanty Portion of Sleep that he allowed himſelf, and his indefatigable Application to Books and Buſineſs, made him equally a Maſter in the Arts of War and Navigation; and he wanted but the Sunſhine of a Court to throw out into View thoſe Wonders, which were reſerv'd for his riper Years.

Little was he yet heard of at Court, and leſs were his Expectations of riſing there, 'till a Quarrel aroſe between the

the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*, and one *Raleigh*, who was sent with a Captain's Commission into that Kingdom. The Matter was complain'd of, and refer'd to the Hearing of the Council in *England*. In this Juncture, as some Traditions will have it, *Raleigh* found an Advocate in the Great Earl of *Leicester*, who, either out of Spleen to the Lord-Deputy, or a private Interest of his own, (too often the chief Motives of a Statesman's Proceedings;) drawn the whole Business to the Queen as Council, with no little Advantage to *Raleigh*'s Conduct. Others say, he was first introduc'd by *Sussex*, to defeat the Designs, and eclipse the Splendor of *Leicester* his Enemy. His Admission to Court, however grounded, by his Wit and Management, soon open'd him a Passage to Favour and Preferment: For the Queen, who was so good a Judge of a bright Genius, soon found his Capacity of serving her; and so far vouchsaf'd him her Ear, that scarce any thing of Moment was afterwards done, without consulting him upon the Method.

Leicester, now, with invidious Eyes, beheld the prevailing Influence of *Raleigh*, and grew jealous, that his own Interest would artfully be undermin'd by the new Favourite. The best Means he could invent to divert the Current of her Affections, was to send *Raleigh* out of her Sight, and introduce the Earl of *Essex* to her Service. Upon this Scheme, he did not fail to insinuate the Pains that *Raleigh* took to make Discoveries, and advance the Glory of the *English* Navigation. The Queen was as willing to listen to his Merit, and sent him on a Voyage to Sea, in which he discover'd that Country, which, in Honour of the Queen, has ever since been call'd *Virginia*. Upon his Return from this Expedition, She rewarded him with the Honour of Knighthood; and amongst other Preferments, gave him the Government of *Jersey* and *Virginia*.

Sir *Walter* now for a while became a Courtier, 'till an indiscreet Passion banish'd him from that Sphere; for happening to debauch one of the Maids of Honour, (whom he afterwards, in Justice to her, and his own Fame,

Fame, married;) the Frowns of the Queen for some time put a Restraint upon his Liberty. He, who could but ill brook a Confinement that oppos'd the growing of his Fortunes, was not a little importunate to obtain his Freedom; which obtained, he was no less zealous to get out of the Eye of his Mistress's Displeasure; judging rightly, that his Absence, and successful Voyage, would be most likely to abate her Resentments, and reconcile him to her Favour. It was about this time that he put himself upon his first *Guiana* Expedition; a Country that had been so much talk'd of by the *Spaniards*, and, if possess'd by the *English*, was so conveniently situated to annoy *Spain* in her *American* Trade. Sir *Walter* soon made such Discoveries there, that it was mov'd at the *English* Court, that a Colony should be planted there, and some proportionable Force sent over to make good the Action: But this Motion, on Advice, was rejected, in regard of the Distance of the Country from the main Body of our Strength, and because the *Spaniards*, bordering near upon it, might easily cast out our small Forces, and make the Enterprise dishonourable to our Nation. Sir *Walter*, however, upon his Return, found his Discoveries so satisfactory at Court, that the Queen seem'd to have forgot he had ever mis-behav'd, and began anew to cherish him with her Favour.

The Resolutions at Home were now to humble the Insolence of *Spain*, and fairly set on them in their own Ports: A noble Fleet of 150 Sail hereupon was made ready. *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, and the Lord *Charles Howard*, the Admiral, were made Commanders in Chief, with equal Authority, under the Title of Generals; and to them were join'd for a Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Conicts Clifford*. The Fleet soon came to Anchor on the West Side of the Island of *Cales*, and within two Days after it was agreed to attack the *Spanish* Ships. This Agreement was soon put into Execution, and the Bravery of *Essex* and the *English* so far prevail'd, that the *Spaniard*, being miserably torn and shatter'd, resolv'd to fire all their Vessels, or run them on

on Ground. In Consequence of this Victory, the Town of *Cales* was soon after taken. Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the mean time was commanded with his Vessels to fire the Merchant-Ships lying at *Port-Real*: Two Millions of Ducats were offer'd for their Redemption, but the Offer was rejected, and they were all burnt, to the infinite damage of the Merchants. After some little cruisings on the *Spanish* Coast, they return'd into *England*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Earl of *Essex*, who not only would have kept *Cales*, but also have undertaken some new Expedition that Year.

In the following Year, the Queen being inform'd that the King of *Spain* was preparing a new Fleet against *Ireland*, she fitted out a Navy of 120 Sail, divided into 3 Squadrons, the First to be commanded by the Earl of *Essex*, the Scond by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Third by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. In this Expedition, they were distress'd with dreadful Tempests, and the Fleet scatter'd: but they met again at the Isles, call'd *Azores*, where *Raleigh* wanting Water, was oblig'd to go on Shore without Leave, and before he could be furnish'd, was Commanded to follow *Essex* to *Fayall*; where not finding him, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commander advis'd him to attack the Place. Sir *Gilly Merick*, a Creature of *Essex*'s, diswaded Sir *Walter* from this Design, alledging, that it would rob the Earl of the Honour of Taking the Town, and so confirm him his Enemy. But Sir *Walter*, either too ambitious of this Action, or too eager of the Spoil, with some of his chief Voluntiers landed, and soon won the Town. The next Day *Essex* arriv'd, and *Merick* fail'd not maliciously to insinuate, that Sir *Walter* had made this Attempt to prevent his Lordship in the Honour of the Exploit. Some perswaded the Earl to call a Council of War, and cashier *Raleigh*; and others advis'd the taking off his Head for landing without the Leave of his chief Commander. Sir *Walter*, in his Defence pleaded, That he being one of the three Generals, was not oblig'd to observe those Orders which the inferior Officers and Soldiers were; that he was necessitated to land, being in extream Want

of

of Water, which was not to be had without fighting. This Matter was soon made up by the Mediation of the Lord *Howard*, but from That, and former Jealousies, arose such an unhappy Contest and Emulation between the Earl and *Raleigh*, as never could be thoroughly extinguish'd, but by Death it self.

Essex, at that time, stood in so high Estimation with the People, that Sir *Walter*'s Actions were by Prejudice misconstrued, and because he was not *Essex*'s Friend, he must of course be an Enemy to his Country: but a short Term of Years took this belov'd Rival out of the way; for the Earl's Heat and Indiscretion run him into Projects so indirect, as made his Life dangerous to the Safety of the Queen, and she was oblig'd, tho' with much Reluctancy, to submit to his Execution. When the Earl was brought to the Scaffold, as most People believ'd Sir *Walter* pleas'd at the Occasion, so he was highly reflected on for coming openly to see him die, as if it were on purpose to insult in the Sacrifice of his Enemy: But if we are to believe his own dying Words, he protested, *That he shed Tears at the Earl's Death, tho' he was one of the contrary Faction; and that he was all the while in the Armoury at the further end, where he could but see* Essex, *and was sorry that he was not with him, because he heard that* Essex *had a desire to see, and be reconciled to him.*

The Queen did not long survive the Fate of that Favourite, and Affairs as soon chang'd to the Disadvantage of Sir *Walter*: For when King *James* came in, and the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter* had design'd to meet him on the Road, he sent them word, *That they might save themselves that Labour.* The Consequences of such Coolness gave room for private Discontents, which were heighten'd by Sir *Walter*'s being turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guards, which was given to a *Scotch* Lord. Whatever dangerous Measures he entred into, to revenge the Contempts shewn to his Merits, Accusations arose to a Suspicion of Treason, and Sir *Walter*, the Lord *Cobham*, and several others were apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

In the *November* following, the Peſtilence raging at *London*, they were remov'd from the Tower, under ſtrong Guard, to be arraign'd at *Wincheſter*. Their Indictment lay for conſpiring to kill the King, to raiſe a Rebellion, to alter the Religion, ſubvert the State, and procure a foreign Invaſion. Concerning the firſt Point, it was prov'd, that *Thomas* Lord *Grey* deſign'd to obtain the levying of 2000 Men for the Defence of the *Netherlands*, and with them to ſeize upon the King and Prince, and ſecure the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Particulars, it was alledg'd, That the Lord *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* met at St. *Martins* in the Fields, and there conſulted about moving Sedition, raiſing Rebellion, altering Religion, ſubverting the State, and ſetting up the Lady *Arabella Stuart*. That Sir *Walter* was appointed to treat with Count *Aremberg* for a large Sum of Money, and the Lord *Cobham* to apply himſelf to the Arch-Duke and King of *Spain*, to induce them to aſſiſt the Lady *Arabella*.

It was much inſiſted, by their Friends, in behalf of the Priſoners, that theſe things could not be Treaſon, becauſe the King was not yet crown'd: And beſides, That the whole Accuſation was but a Verbal Matter, and never took Effect, therefore it could not be Treaſon. Theſe were look'd upon but as evaſive Pleas, offer'd in Mitigation, rather to ſkreen than excuſe the Offenders, and therefore had no Influence upon the Proceedings againſt them.

Sir *Walter*, on the 17th Day of *November*, 1603. was brought to his Tryal before the Earl of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of *Devon*; Lord *Henry Howard*; Lord *Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*; Lord *Wootten*; Sir *John Stanhope*, Vice-Chamberlain; Lord Chief Juſtice *Popham*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Anderſon*, Mr. Juſtice *Gaudie*, Mr. Juſtice *Warburton*, and others, Commiſſioners by ſpecial Delegate aſſign'd. The Indictment being read, Sir *Walter* was ask'd, if he would except againſt any of his Jury? To which he reply'd, No, he knew none of them; they

they were all Christians and honest Gentlemen; but pray'd, that he might answer to Points particularly as they were delivered, by reason of the Weakness of his Memory, and Sickness. Then began *Heath*, the King's Serjeant at Law, and Sir *Edward Cook*, the Attorney-General, to descant on the Indictment, or rather to exclaim against the Prisoner: (A method which ever was, and ever will be made use of in Proceedings for the Crown, since, if we may believe so wise a Man as Sir *Walter*, *There is no Cause so doubtful, which the King's Council cannot make good against the Law.*) As soon as the general Pleadings were over, Sir *Walter* informed Mr. *Attorney*, That *His* Words could not condemn him; but if they could prove one of the Things, wherewith they had charg'd him, he would confess the whole Indictment: That he did not hear that they had spoken one Word against him; and if my Lord *Cobham* was a Traitor, what was that to him? Mr. *Attorney* reply'd, That whatever my Lord *Cobham* had done, was by *Raleigh*'s Instigation: And then for Proof proceeded to read his Examination; in which he confess'd, That he had a Passport to go to the *Spanish* King, intending to go to the *Arch-Duke* to confer with him about these Practices, and because he knew he had not Money to pay his own Army, from thence he meant to go to *Spain*, to deal with the King for 600000 Crowns, and to return by *Jersey*; and that nothing should be done, until he had spoken with Sir *Walter Raleigh* for distribution of the Money to those who were discontented in *England*: and that he had never entred into these Courses, but by his Instigation, and that he would never let him alone.

Sir *Walter* here made a strong and ample Defence to the Matters suggested against him by *Cobham*'s Examination; which Defence, because pathetick, as well as pertinent to the whole Cause, I have thought proper to transcribe at its full Length. After having call'd for a sight of the Examination, This (*said He*) is all the Evidence can be brought against me: Poor Shifts! You, Gentlemen of the Jury, I pray you understand this. This is that which must either condemn, or give me Life; which

muſt free me, or ſend my Wife and Children to beg their Bread about the Streets: This is that muſt prove me a notorious Traitor, or a true Subject to the King. I never ſaw this Examination before. At my firſt Examination by my Lords at *Windſor*, what I knew of *Cobham*'s Practice with *Aremberg*, I anſwer'd negatively: and as concerning *Arabella*, I proteſt before God, I never heard one word of it. If that be prov'd, let me be guilty of a thouſand Treaſons. It is a ſtrange Thing you will impute that to me, when I never heard ſo much as the Name of *Arabella Stuart*, but only the Name of *Arabella*. After being examin'd, I told my Lords, That I thought my Lord *Cobham* had Conference with *Aremberg*, I ſuſpected his viſiting him: For after he departed from me at *Durham*-Houſe, by his own Stairs, and paſſed over to St. *Mary Saviour*'s; I knew *Lawrency* a Merchant, and a Follower of *Aremberg*, and therefore likely to go unto him. My Lord *Cecil* ask'd my Opinion concerning *Lawrency*: I ſaid, That if you do not apprehend *Lawrency*, it is dangerous, he will fly; if you do apprehend him, you ſhall give my Lord *Cobham* notice thereof. I was ask'd likewiſe, who was the greateſt Man with my Lord *Cobham*? I anſwered, I knew no Man ſo great with him, as young *Wyat* of *Kent*. As ſoon as *Cobham* ſaw my Letter to have diſcover'd his Dealing with *Aremberg*, in his Fury he accus'd me; but before he came to the Stair-foot he repented him, and ſaid, he had done me Wrong. When he came to the end of his Accuſation, he added, That if he had brought this Money to *Jerſey*, I would have deliver'd him to the King. Mr. *Attorney*, you ſaid, this never came out of *Cobham*'s Quiver: He is a ſimple Man. Is he ſo ſimple? No: He hath Diſpoſitions of his own, he will not eaſily be guided by others, but when he has once taken head in a matter, he is not eaſily drawn from it; he is no Babe. It is ſtrange for me to deviſe with *Cobham*, that he ſhould go to *Spain*, to perſwade the King to diſburſe ſo much Money, he being a Man of no Love in *England*, and I having reſign'd my Room of chiefeſt Command, the Wardenſhip of the *Stanneries*. It is ſtrange for me to make my ſelf *Robin Hood*, or a *Kett*, or a *Cade*; I knowing *England*

to

to be in better Eſtate than ever it was. I knew *Scotland* united, *Ireland* quieted, *Denmark* aſſured, which before was ſuſpected. I knew, that having a Lady whom Time had ſurprix'd, we had now a lawful Succeſſor. The State of *Spain* was not unknown to me; I had written a Diſcourſe, which I had intended to preſent unto the King, againſt Peace with *Spain*. I knew the *Spaniard* had ſix Repulſes; three in *Ireland*, and three at Sea, and once in 1588 at *Cales*, by my Lord Admiral. I knew he was diſcourag'd, and diſhonour'd. I knew the King of *Spain* to be the proudeſt Prince living; but now he cometh creeping to the King, my Maſter, for Peace. I knew, whereas before he had in his Ports ſix or ſeven Score Sail of Ships, he hath now but ſix or ſeven. I knew of twenty five Millions he had from his *Indies*, he hath ſcarce one left. I knew him ſo poor, that the *Jeſuits* in *Spain* were feign to beg at the Church Door. Was it ever read or heard, that any Prince ſhould diſburſe ſo much Money, without a ſufficient Pawn? I knew her own Subjects, the Citizens of *London*, would not lend her Majeſty Money without Lands in Morrgage. I knew the Queen did not lend the *States* Money without *Flushing*, *Brill*, and other Towns for a Pawn. And can it be thought he would let *Cobham* have ſo great a Sum? I never came to the Lord *Cobham's*, but about Matters of his Profit; as the Ordering his Houſe, Paying of his Servants Boardwages, *&c.* I had of his, when I was examin'd, four thouſand Pounds worth of Jewels for a Purchaſe; a Pearl of three thouſand Pounds, and a Ring worth five hundred Pounds. If he had had a Fancy to run away, he would not have left ſo much to have purchas'd a Leaſe in Fee-farm. I ſaw him buy three hundred Pounds worth of Books, to ſend to his Library at *Canterbury*, and a Cabinet of three hundred Pounds to give to Mr. *Attorney* for drawing the Conveyance; and God of Heaven knoweth, not I, whether he intended to travel. But for that Practiſe with *Arabella*, or Letters to *Aremberg*, or any Diſcourſe with him, or in what Language he ſpake unto him, if I knew any of theſe things, I would abſolutely confeſs the Indictment, and acknowledge my ſelf worthy of a thouſand Deaths.

Sir

Sir *Walter* further urg'd ſtrenuouſly to the Court, that *Cobham*'s Examination, which he had refus'd to ſubſcribe, was at beſt but a Circumſtance againſt him, and an Accuſation which the Accuſer himſelf had forſworn; and therefore was vehement that *Cobham* might appear, and perſonally accuſe him. Mr. *Attorney*, to the firſt Point, reply'd, That the Accuſation being teſtified to the Lords, was of as great Force, as if he had ſubſcrib'd it; and the Judges would in no wiſe hearken to *Cobham*'s being brought to juſtify his Examination, for ſo a Num- of Treaſons might flouriſh; that the Accuſer might be drawn by Practiſe, while he was in Perſon; that ſuch a Gap muſt not be open'd for the Deſtruction of the King: That my Lord *Cobham* might poſſibly have been labour'd with, and to ſave Sir *Walter*, his old Friend, might deny all that he had ſaid on his Examination.

The Lord *Cecil*, who ſubtly inſinuated that he was in great Diſpute with himſelf to ſpeak in the Caſe of Sir *Walter*, for that a former Dearneſs between them had tied ſo firm a Knot of his Conceit of his Virtues, was afterwards ſo buſy in oppoſing Sir *Walter*'s Demands to the Court, that he thought fit to apologize for himſelf, and was afraid his often Speech would make the World think, he delighted to hear himſelf talk: but that Sir *Walter* knew by the Law of the Realm, my Lord *Cobham* could not be brought: that if he had retracted part of his Examination, many particulars were not retracted, and the Validity of all muſt be left to the Jury. Sir *Walter* ſtill inſiſted that the Proceedings againſt him muſt be *ſecundum allegata & probata*; and he appeal'd to God and the King, whether *Cobham*'s Accuſation could be ſufficient to condemn him: After this he pull'd out a Letter of Juſtification written to him from *Cobham*, which he deſir'd the Lord *Cecil* to read, becauſe he knew his Hand. The Effect of which Letter was as follows, "Seeing my ſelf ſo near my End, for the Diſcharge of "my own Conſcience, and freeing my ſelf from your "Blood, which elſe will cry Vengeance againſt me; I "proteſt upon my Salvation, I never practis'd with

Spain

" *Spain* by your Procurement. God ſo comfort me in " this my Affliction, as you are a true Subject for any " thing that I know: I will ſay as *Daniel*, *Purus ſum a* " *ſanguine hujus*: So God have Mercy on my Soul, as " I know no Treaſon by you."

This, or whatever *Raleigh* could alledge, was of no Weight with the Jury to ſtave off his Condemnation; the *Judges* and the King's Counſel did what they could to baul him out of his Life, and ſince, as an Author ſays in his Life, they wanted Proof, they would endeavour to tire him out. Sir *Walter* finding Oppoſition in vain, concluded with but a ſhort Addreſs to the Jury, telling them that Preſumptions muſt proceed from precedent, or ſubſequent Facts: that he had ſpent 40000 Crowns againſt the *Spaniard*: that he had not purchas'd 40 Pounds a Year, and if he had died in *Guiana*, he had not left 300 Marks a Year to his Wife and Son: that if they would be contented on Preſumptions delivered, to be ſlaughter'd, to have their Wives and Children turned into the Streets to beg their Bread, if they would be contented to be ſo judged, to judge ſo of him.

The Jury however brought him in Guilty, and Sentence of Death was paſt upon him; but he was left to his Majeſty's Mercy, and remanded back to the Tower, where he remain'd a Priſoner above 12 Years, but was permitted to enjoy that Freedom which is call'd *Libera Cuſtodia*. Whether the King ſent ſome ſecretly, (Sir *Anthony Welden* ſays,) to *Winchester* to obſerve all Paſſages, upon whoſe true and faithful Relations of that Innocency of the Perſons arraign'd, and ſlight Proof upon which they were condemned, he would not be drawn to ſign any Warrant for the Execution of *Raleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*.

For *Raleigh's* Defence (ſays the ſame Author, a Courtier of thoſe Times;) it was ſo brave and juſt, as (had he not willfully caſt himſelf, out of very wearineſs, as unwilling to detain the Company longer;) no Jury could ever have caſt him: All the Evidence brought againſt

againſt him was *Cobham*'s Accuſation, which he only deſired might appear (*vivâ voce*) and he would yield without further Defence; but that they knew full well *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuſe him, having been tamper'd with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisbury*'s great Creature: *Wade*, deſired it under his Hand, That alſo he refus'd: at laſt *Wade* got a Trick by his Cunning, to ſurprize *Cobham*'s Weakneſs, to get him to write his Name to a Blank, to which *Wade*, no queſtion, wrote the Accuſation, as will appear hereafter: for *Salisbury* urging *Raleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accuſed him under his Hand, would he then yield? *Raleigh* replied, He knew *Cobham* weak of Judgment, and did not know how that weakneſs might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not to his Face accuſe him, and therefore would not put his Life, Fortune, and all on That; at which Fence he ſtood till Nine at Night; at laſt his Fate carried him againſt his Reaſon, and he yielded upon the producing *Cobham*'s Hand, which was inſtantly pulled out, and was in truth his Hand, but not his Act or Deed.

Poſterity, in one Reſpect, are bound to thank King *James*, for that ineſtimable Treaſure, which probably had never been compil'd or tranſmitted down to us, had not Sir *Walter* been made a Priſoner, and taken off from Action and publick Employments. For during his Confinement in the Tower, (to tranſcribe the Character another Author has given it,) he was deliver'd of that great *Minerva*, the *HISTORY of the WORLD*; a Book, which for the Exactneſs of its Chronology, Curiouſneſs of its Contexture and Learning of all Sorts, ſeems to be the Work of an Age. An Hiſtory, which never yet met with a Detractor, and was the Envy, if ſome Authors are to be credited, of King *James* himſelf, who thought none could out-do him at the Pen. That a Man, who had been the greateſt Part of his Life taken up in Action, ſhould write ſo judiciouſly, ſo critically of Times and Actions, is as great a Wonder as the Book itſelf.

Tradition has been very current, I think, on very little Probability, that Sir *Walter* had deſign'd and finiſh'd a

Second

Second Part to his Great History. The Story is thus; That some few Days before he suffer'd, he sent for the Bookseller that had printed his First Volume, and taking him by the Hand, after other Discourse, ask'd him, *How the Book had sold?* To which the Bookseller answer'd, *It sold so slowly, that it had undone him.* Sir *Walter* hereupon, stepping to his Desk, reach'd the unprinted Part of his History, which he had brought down to his own Times, and clapping his Hand on his Breast, said, with a Sigh, *Ah! my Friend, has the First Part undone thee? the Second Part shall undo no more: This ungrateful World is unworthy of it.* He said no more, but, immediately stepping to his Fire, threw it in, and set his Foot on it till it was consum'd.

For my own part, I have too great an Opinion of Sir *Walter's* Wisdom, to suppose he would so rashly have rob'd his Executors of such a Treasure, upon a single Person's complaining of Loss from the ill Sale of the first Volume. It seems a Fable copy'd out of another concerning *Virgil*, who would have burnt his *Æneis*, to which he had not put the last hand, lest it should survive to the Injury of his Reputation. I think besides, there is no better way of interpreting for an Author than from his own Words. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the Conclusion of his *Premonition to Princes*, speaking of his History, and the Method he had pursued in it, *It was for the Service*, says he, *of that inestimable Prince* Henry, *the successive Hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertook this Work: And it pleas'd him to peruse part thereof, and so pardon what was amiss. It is now left to the World without a Master, from which all that is presented to it, receiveth both Blows and Thanks: For we approve and reprehend the same things*, &c. *I do therefore forbear to stile my Readers gentle, courteous, and friendly, so to beg their good Opinions: Or promise a* Second *and* Third *Volume (which I intended) if the First receive a good Acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much: and let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous Phrases, yet we shall ever be thought Fools that write foolishly.* If this be not a Proof conclu-

five enough to determine that he was resolv'd to publish no *Second* Volume, it will yet receive a Confirmation fro mthe last Paragraph that shuts up his History. *Lastly, Whereas this Book, by the Title it hath, calls itself the* First Part *of the* General History *of the* World, *implying a* Second *and* Third *Volume, which I also intended and have blown out, besides many other Discouragements perswading my Silence, it hath pleas'd God to take that glorious Prince out of the World, to whom they were directed, whose unspeakable and never enough lamented Loss hath taught me to say with* Job, Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in Vocem Flentium.

But to return from this Digression to Matters of more Certainty: While Sir *Walter* remained a Prisoner in the Tower (under the Jealousie, rather than Justice, of King *James*, says Sir *Francis Osborne*, who did so far participate of the Humour of a pusillanimous Prince, as to pardon any sooner than those injur'd by himself) a fatal Incident, promoted by himself, and turned against him by his Enemies, seem'd to confirm an Opinion of that Treason, which arose but to a bare Suspicion before, even with those who owed him the least Kindness.

Queen *Anne*, at that time, was seized with a desperate, and, as it was fear'd, incurable Disease, whereof the Physicians were at the end of their Study to find the Cause, and at a greater *Nonplus* for the Cure. Sir *Walter*, being by his long Studies an admirable Chymist, undertook, says *Welden*, and perform'd the Cure. An Action that might at once have wip'd off all Aspersions, secured him a Pardon, and reconcil'd him to the Royal Favour! But Sir *Walter*, obstinate to have his wounded Honour cur'd, would receive no other Reward for this Service, than that her Majesty should procure certain Lords to be sent, who should examine *Cobham*, Whether he had accus'd Sir *Walter Raleigh* of Treason at any time under his Hand.

The King, at the *Queen's* Request, (and in Justice he could do no less) sends for Lords, of whom *Salisbury* was

one,

one, to demand of *Cobham*, Whether he had not under his hand accuſed Sir *Walter Raleigh* at *Winchester*, upon that Treaſon for which he was there arraign'd? *Cobham* did proteſt, he never had, nor could he: But, ſaid He, *That Villain* Wade *did often ſollicit me, and, not prevailing, got me, by a Trick, to write my Name upon a piece of white Paper; which I, thinking nothing, did; ſo that if any Charge came under my hand, it was forged by that Villain* Wade, *by writing ſomething above my hand, without my Conſent or Knowledge.* The Six Lords, returning to the King, made *Salisbury* their Spokeſman, who told him, my Lord *Cobham* had made good all that ever he wrote or ſaid. This indeed was an equivocating Trick, for, it was true, he made good whatever he wrote, but he never wrote any thing to accuſe *Raleigh*.

Stateſmen, once oppos'd in the Courſe of their Politicks, ſeldom or never forgive the Perſons oppoſing; and though the Injury may ſleep under Smiles and Court-Behaviour, the ſmother'd Fire will take its Time to break out to their Deſtruction. Sir *Walter*, as *Osborne* tells us, had formerly diſoblig'd *Salisbury* (then Sir *Robert Cecil*) by Obſtructing, to the fartheſt Extent of his Power, a Peace which, by *Salisbury*'s Mediation, working with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, was propounded at the very Cloſe of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

Upon the King's Acceſſion, Malice was induſtrious to ruin *Raleigh* in his Opinion, and by ſupplanting, to work him up to Diſcontent. The Conſpiracy, which was laid on him, put on ſuch a Face, ſays *Wilſon*, that few or none could diſcover, or know what to make of it. That the muddy Waters were ſtirr'd, was apparent, but it was with ſuch a Mixture, that little could be viſible in it.

If we may believe *Welden*, Sir *Walter*, and moſt of his Party, were diſcontented to ſee that *Salisbury*, their old Friend, ſhould trample on, neglect and contemn them, who before had been his chief Supporters, and ever of his Faction: But it was then believ'd an errant Trick of State to overthrow ſome, and diſable others

knowing their ſtrong Abilities might otherwiſe live to overthrow *Salisbury*; for they were intimate in all his ſecret Counſels for the Ruin of *Eſſex*, eſpecially *Raleigh*, *Grey*, and *Cobham*. Tho' the latter was a Tool, yet had he been very uſeful to them, as the Tool in the hand of the Workman. To have ſingled out Theſe without ſome Prieſts, who were Traitors by the Law, had ſmelt too rank, and appear'd too poor and plain a Trick of State: And *Salisbury*, in This, had a double Benefit; firſt, in ridding himſelf of ſuch as he fear'd would have been Thorns in his Side; ſecondly, by indearing himſelf to the King, by ſhewing his Diligence and Vigilance for his Safety: So that it might be ſaid of him as of *Cæſar* in another Caſe, *inveniam aut faciam*, I will either find out a Treaſon, or make one. Beſides, the *Spaniard* was ſo powerful at that time at Court, as That Faction could command the Life of any Man who might prove dangerous to their Deſigns: And it was thought one of the greateſt Maſter-pieces of *Gondamore* to purchaſe *Raleigh's* Head, who had done their State ſuch ſingular Miſchiefs, and with whom (as *Cato* of old us'd to ſay, *Delenda eſt Carthago*;) it was a conſtant Maxim, *That Spain was to be humbled*. But above all, ſays *Osborne*, of ſo incomparable a Dexterity in his Judgment was Sir *Walter*, that the Treaſurer *Salisbury*, (who had already, by an univerſal Compliance with the King and his Countrymen, purchas'd the Monopoly of his Favour) grew jealous of his excellent Parts, leaſt he ſhould ſupplant him.

But ſtill, as ſtrong as *Salisbury's* Odium was to Sir *Walter*, and as active and ſubtle an Inſtrument as *Gondamore* was in his Maſter's Service, the Execution of *Raleigh* was not to be extorted from the King, who in many things, as *Welden* ſays, was over-aw'd by his timerous Diſpoſition.

Raleigh, whoſe Mind labour'd under nothing more than the Tediouſneſs of his Confinement, neglected no Intercеſſions for his Inlargement. Prince *Henry*, while living, had been extream curious in ſearching out the Nature of his Offences: the *Queen* had informed herſelf from

from the Beginning; and the King of *Denmark* at both times of his being in *England* was thoroughly satisfied of his Innocency; and they all mov'd his Majesty on his Behalf. The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, as he justly observes, do not use to sue for Persons suspected. His thoughts were now centred on a new Enterprize of discovering Golden Mines in *Guiana*: What he knew of the Riches of that Place was from his own View, and not Hearsay; but the Persons most in Trust at Court, were resolv'd not to believe it, not because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted his Disposition towards themselves. He makes his Propositions to Sir *Ralph Winwood* Secretary of State, desiring him to recommend them to his Majesty; *It is true*, Sir, says He, in his Letter to the Secretary; *That his Majesty has sometimes answer'd, his Council knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them: and it was indeed my Infelicity; for had his Majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am: or had I known his Majesty, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majesty not knowing of me hath been my Ruine and his Majesty, misknowing of them, hath been the Ruin of a goodly Part of his Estate: but they are all of them now, some living, and some dying, come to his Majesty's Knowledge. But, Sir, how little soever his Majesty knew me, and how much soever he believ'd them, yet have I been bound to his Majesty both for my Life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majesty, nor Life, nor ought else had remain'd. In this Respect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same Life, and all I have for his Majesty's Service: To dye for the King, and not by the King, is all the Ambition I have in the World.*

The *Secretary* was so just as to represent Sir *Walter's* Propositions to the King; and the King, who, as *Coke* informs us, had before stop'd his Ears to Sir *Walter's* Advice concerning the *Dutch* Fishery upon the Coasts of *England* and *Scotland*, now opens them to his *American* Project; and looking on *Raleigh* as a Man, whose Abilities might better the Nation, if improved the right way, gave him Liberty and a Commission under the Privy-

Privy-Seal, to equip and set forth Ships and Men for that Service.

His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates, and Persons, upon the Design: and being gallantly furnish'd with all things necessary, in the Month of *August* 1617, they set out for *Guiana*.

But this Commission granted to Sir *Walter*, it seems, but ill agreed with the Treaty made between the King in the 2d Year of his Reign, and the most renowned *Spanish* Monarch: wherein, in the first Article, it was agreed, that they should use one another with all kind and friendly Offices: and by this Treaty the *English* were restrain'd to their *European* Trade, the King of *Spain* being as jealous of his *West-Indies*, as other Kings of their Prerogatives.

The Fame of Sir *Walter*, and the Expectations of the Mountains of Gold to be pour'd into the Exchequer by this Expedition, blaz'd it every where Abroad. King *James*, unwilling to disoblige his Brother of *Spain*, commanded Sir *Walter Raleigh* upon his Allegiance, before he went out, to set down under his Hand the Country, and the River, which he was to enter, the compleat Number of his Men, the Burthen of his Ships, and what Ordinance every Ship carried. This being made known to the Count *Gondamore*, the *Spanish* Ambassador here, and by him in Post to the King of *Spain*, a Dispatch was made by that King to the *Indies*, and his Letters sent from *Madrid*, before Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with his Fleet, departed out of the River *Thames*.

To this Practise Sir *Walter* was no Stranger, and yet it deterr'd him not from the propos'd Expedition: After a Stress of Weather, and Distress of Sickness he arrives at *Guiana*, from whence, still sanguine in what he had promis'd from the Voyage, he writes to his Wife, and tells her, he hop'd to perform what they had undertaken, if the diligent Care at *London* to make their Strength

Strength known to the *Spaniſh* King by his Ambaſſador, had not taught the *Spaniſh* King to fortify all the Entrances againſt them. *However*, ſays He, *we muſt make the Adventure, and if we periſh, it ſhall be no Honour for* England, *nor Gain for his Majeſty to loſe, among many others, an Hundred as valiant Gentlemen as* England *has in it.*

It was bruited before his Departure from the Channel by ſome that lov'd him little, that he meant nothing leſs than to go to *Guiana*; but that being once at Liberty and in his own Power, having made his way with ſome Foreign Prince, he would turn Pirate, and utterly forſake his own Country. Nor did *Gondamore* himſelf believe that a Voyage thither was intended, for he had ſaid to Secretary *Winwood* and ſeveral of the Lords, that if Sir *Walter* meant indeed to ſail to *Guiana*, and had no Intent to invade any part of his Maſter's *Weſt-Indies*, nor his Fleets, he ſhould not need to ſtrengthen himſelf as he did; for he ſhould work his Mine there without Diſturbance, and in Peace.

For the Particulars at length of this his laſt unhappy Voyage, I muſt refer the Readers to that excellent *Apology*, which he has left drawn up by his own Pen; and only here recount the main Actions, which were afterwards made Aggravations to deſtroy him. Sir *Walter*, now in an advanc'd old Age, having ſtruggled with a long Sickneſs, and being yet unable to move otherwiſe than in a Chair, order'd Five ſmall Ships to ſail up the River *Orionoque*, under the Conduct of Captain *Kemiſh*, towards the Mine of which he had inform'd Sir *Walter* in *England*. As they paſs'd up the River, the *Spaniards* began the War, and fired at the *Engliſh* Ships with great and ſmall Shot: Yet ſtill they landed their Forces, without much Loſs, near the Town call'd St. *Thomas*, of which with little Difficulty they made themſelves Maſters, and burnt it, but with the Death of Captain *Raleigh*, Sir *Walter*'s Son, to the great Grief of the Aſſailants. The Father's Concern was ſo vehement for this Loſs, that he could willingly have died Heart-

broken,

broken, as he sent his Wife Word, did he not contend against Sorrow for her Sake, in hope to provide somewhat for her, and to comfort and relieve her. Tho' the *Spaniards* were not strong enough to defend the Town, yet they were sufficiently prepar'd to secure the Mine: so that Captain *Kemish* finding it impracticable to get up to it by Water, and the Avenues by Land so well guarded, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and with deep Sorrow return'd.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with the News of his Son's unhappy Death, and the fruitless Return of *Kemish*, was touch'd to the very Soul, crying out to *Kemish*, That he had utterly ruin'd him, and wounded his Credit with the King, beyond Recovery; but he, who was the first Mover of the Design, must expect to bear the Weight of the King's Anger as well as himself.

Kemish, as deeply tormented as himself, and less able to sustain the Burthen, retir'd to his Cabin overwhelm'd with Melancholy, and shot himself; but the Bullet only breaking a Rib, which was too slow for his Fury, he desperately thrust a Knife in his Heart up to the Haft, and with him the Glory of the whole Voyage expired. For the Design being thus discover'd and broken, their Ships being leaky, Provisions failing, and the Men missing the Golden Showers they expected, several of them began to mutiny, some would return home, and the Major Part forc'd Sir *Walter* to swear not to go home without their Allowance. Then some would go for *Italy*, some for *France*, and a few for *England*, fearing the *Spanish* Power there more than they did in the *Indies*: and thus being shatter'd in Judgment, with greater Storms than the Seas and Winds had produc'd, Sir *Walter* at length arriv'd with Four Ships at *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, where he staid for some short Space in Safety.

The News of taking and burning St. *Thomas* coming to *Gondamore*, he besieges, and as it were assaults King *James* with Importunity for Reparation. For he was a Man (says *Wilson*, not only of an insinuating and glosing

gloſing Spirit, but of a violent and fiery Temper, when any croſs Accident blew up the Humour. The Matter is aggravated with the higheſt Circumſtances by thoſe of the *Spaniſh* Faction, as if this Irruption of *Raleigh*'s not only tended to the Breach of the Treaty of Marriage betwixt Prince *Charles* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which was then in Motion, but to the Infringement of the Peace and Amity, eſtabliſh'd betwixt the Two Crowns. The King's Fears being heighten'd to Anger, he diſavows the Action; and leaſt Others of his Subjects ſhould by this Example take the Boldneſs to attempt the like Hoſtility againſt the King of *Spain*, he puts out a Proclamation, in which he ſhews his Deteſtation of ſuch Proceedings, and threatens ſevere Puniſhment to the Enterpriſers, thereby to deter them.

This gave *Gondamore* ſome Satisfaction, who, his Deſign being only to get Sir *Walter Raleigh* home, after this Bruſh vented little Paſſion, but ſo cunningly skin'd over his Malice, that when *Raleigh* was in *Ireland*, he found, nor heard of no ſuch great Difficulties, Dangers often flying upon the Wings of Rumour, but that he might appear in *England*: So the Men, not willing to be baniſh'd their own Country, tho' ſome of them had *France* in their Eye, put in at *Plymouth*.

Raleigh was no ſooner aſhore, but he had private Intimation which gave him cauſe to ſuſpect, the ſmoothneſs of this Beginning would have a rough End; therefore he attempted an Eſcape from thence in a Bark to *Rochel*. But being apprehended by Sir *Lewis Stukely*, his Kinſman, who had private Warrant and Inſtructions to that purpoſe, ſo unnatural and ſervile is the Spirit, when it hath an allay of Baſeneſs, he is brought to *London*, and recommitted to the Tower,

He was no ſooner in the Tower, but all his Tranſactions in this Buſineſs are put to the Rack, and tenter'd by his Adverſaries. They ſay now he knew of no Mine, nor did *Kemiſh* know that the Mine he aim'd at was Gold: but *Kemiſh* bringing him a Piece of Ore into the Tower, he ſobb'd a piece of Gold into it in diſſol-

ving, making the poor Man believe the Ore was right, that by these golden Degrees he might ascend to Liberty, promising the King to fetch it from where the *Spaniard* never had been : That when *Kemish* found by better Experience he was cozen'd by *Raleigh*, he came back from the Mine : And that *Raleigh* knowing none but *Kemish* could accuse him, made him away. This Vizard was put upon the Face of the Action, and all the Weight of the Miscarriage was laid upon *Raleigh's* Shoulders.

Gondamore, that look'd upon him as a Man that had not only high Abilities, but Animosity enough to do his Master mischief, (being one of those Scourges, which that *old Virago*, (Queen *Elizabeth*) as he call'd her, used to afflict the *Spaniards* with) having gotten him into this Trap, laid now his Baits about the King.

The King took great Delight in the Company and Conversation of *Gondamore* ; a Person, as *Nani* observes, who with a stupendious Acuteness of Wit, so confounded pleasant Things with Serious, that it was not easie to be discern'd when he rallied, or when he spoke of Business. He knew how to insinuate and transform himself to the King's own way and Humour ; was full of Conceits, Jests, and witty Sayings, and would sometimes speak false *Latin* purposely to please the King, telling him, That his *Majesty* spoke *Latin* like a *Pedant*, but *himself* like a *Gentleman*.

All Complections and Natures (as Sir *Francis Osborne* has curiously remark'd) are not competent for to be employ'd as Ambassadors ; some lying at too open a Guard in their Discourse ; a Fault incident to free People, and Persons not bred under Restraint : Others, of a Faculty retentive enough in relation to Taciturnity, are not able to keep the Intentions of their Hearts from flying into their Looks, which, by the way, a publick Minister is to regard more than Words ; Masters of their Tongues being not seldom betray'd to a full Discovery by their Blood ; which the Shame of *Lying*, or some one Passion or other

pumps

pumps up, for want, it may be, of an *Impudence*, which None, but thoſe *wickedly bred* from their Cradle, are capable of. A good Reaſon why *ſwarthy Perſons*, and People bordering upon the Sun, are more apt for *Negotiations* than the *ruddy Engliſh*; fam'd for *fine Force*, rather than *Circumvention*, the Buſineſs of an Ambaſſador.

Gondamore, who ever proceeded upon Obſervation, found out, and ſo reported to his Countrymen, that King *James*'s moſt intrinſick Deſires were legible in his Countenance. Wherefore his Manner was, firſt to diſturb his Paſſions, and after to appeaſe them by ſome facetious Drollery, before he imbarked himſelf in what he intended to make the Employment of the preſent Audience: And he was in all Companies, as well as the King's, inclinable more to Mirth, than Melancholly; chuſing rather to conceal, than demonſtrate, the Wiſdom and Arts by which he brought about his Maſter's Deſigns, no leſs to the Shame of the *Engliſh*, than the Honour of his own Dexterity. In ſhort, no ſtubborn Piece of either Sex ſtood in *Gondamore*'s way, but he had an Engine to remove them, or ſcrue them up to him.

A Match betwixt the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain* having long been propos'd by the Duke of *Lerma* Abroad, and negotiated by *Gondamore* here at Home; He wrought himſelf ſo by Subtlety into the King's good Affections, that he did not only work his own Will, but the King's into a Belief that the Treaties in Agitation for that Marriage were, tho' ſlowly proſecuted, real and effectual. The *Spaniards* made ſhew, that, on their Part, nothing under Heaven was more deſired than this Alliance; and the King of *Spain* commanded that his Treaſure ſhould be gather'd together for the *Infanta*'s vaſt Portion, being no leſs than 2 *Millions*. If this Match then were to go on, and Amity with the *Spaniard* to be maintained and Courted, *Gondamore* could not wiſh a fairer Opportunity vigorouſly to demand the Head of *Raleigh* for an Aſſault made by him on his Maſter's *Indies*: A Head of more Weight to our Court, ſays *Osborne*, (eſpecially in that Dearth of Wiſdom then raging) than the

Infanta

Infanta could be. But as the foolish Idolaters were wont to sacrifice the choicest of their Children to the Devil, the common Enemy of Humanity; so our King gave up this incomparable Jewel to the Will of this Monster in Ambition, under the Pretence of a superannuated Transgression. Contrary to the Opinion of the most honest sort of Gown-Men, who maintained, that his Majesty's *Pardon* lay inclusively in the *Commission* he gave him upon his setting out to Sea; it being incongruous, that he, who remain'd under the Notion of one *Dead in Law*, should, as a *General* dispose of the Lives of Others, not being himself Master of his own.

Raleigh, tho' confined with more Severity than before, was not insensible how closely his Life was pursued, and how little Expectations he could found of Mercy: He consider'd, however, that Stubbornness and Obstinacy might be laid to his Charge, if he made no sort of Submission to his Majesty, or at least justified the Honesty of his Intentions, tho' his Voyage had so fatally miscarried: He therefore penn'd the following Letter of Apology, which he got convey'd to the King's own Hands.

May it please your most Excellent MAJESTY,

'IF, in my Journey outward bound, I had my Men murder'd at the Islands, and yet spar'd to take Revenge; if I did discharge some *Spanish* Barks taken without Spoil; if I forbore all parts of the *Spanish Indies*, wherein I might have taken twenty of their Towns on the Sea-Coasts, and did only follow the Enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where, without any Directions from me, a *Spanish* Village was burnt, which was set up within 3 Miles of the Mine; by your Majesty's Favour, I find no Reason why the *Spanish* Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawful for the *Spaniards* to murder 26 *Englishmen*, tying them Back to Back, and then cutting their Throats, when they had traded with them a whole Month, and came to them on the Land without so much as one Sword, and that it may not be lawful to your Majesty's Sub-

jects,

jects, being charg'd first by them, to repell Force by Force; we may justly say, O miserable *English*!

'If *Parker* and *Mosham* took *Campeachy* and other Places in the *Honduras*, seated in the Heart of the *Spanish Indies*, burnt Towns, and kill'd the *Spaniards*, and had nothing said to them at their Return; and my self forbore to look into the *Indies*, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

'If I have spent my poor Estate, lost my Son, suffer'd by Sickness, and otherwise, a world of Miseries; if I have resisted, with manifest Hazard of my Life, the the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich; if, when I was poor, I could have made my self rich; if, when I had gotten my Liberty, which all Men, and Nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it; if, when I was sure of my Life, I render'd it again; if I might elsewhere have sold my Ship and Goods, and put five or six thousand Pounds in my Purse, and yet brought her into *England*; I beseech your Majesty to believe that all This I have done, because it should not be said to your Majesty, that your Majesty had given Liberty and Trust to a Man, whose End was but the Recovery of his Liberty, and who had betray'd your Majesty's Trust.

'My Mutineers told me, That if I return'd for *England*, I should be undone; but I believ'd in your Majesty's Goodness more than in all their Arguments. Sure I am the first that, being free and able to inrich my self, yet have embraced Poverty and Peril. And as sure I am, that my Example shall make me the Last. But your Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness I have made my Judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesty's most humble Vassal,

Walter Raleigh.

What-

Whatever private Judgment the King might make in favour of *Raleigh*, he made no Efforts to arreſt the Proſecution againſt him. It was reſolv'd, that Sir *Walter's* Misfortunes ſhould loſe him his Head, but how to do it with a face of Juſtice was the Queſtion. That he fell a Sacrifice to the *Spaniſh* Faction, has ſcarce ever been doubted by Perſons of Diſcernment; and a great *Miniſter*, who was empower'd from the King to let the *Spaniards* know what Teſtimonies he gave of his ſincere Intentions towards them, has in a Letter to Mr. *Cottington*, then our Agent there, put this Opinion in a very clear Light. "Further, you may let them know, "*ſays He*, how able a Man Sir *Walter Raleigh* was to "have done his Majeſty Service, if he ſhould have been "pleaſed to employ him; yet to give them Content, he "hath not ſpared him; when, by preſerving him, he might "have given great Satisfaction to his Subjects, and had, "at Command, upon all Occaſions, as uſeful a Man "as ſerved any Prince in *Chriſtendom*".

Upon the 28th Day of *October* 1618. Sir *Walter* was brought up to the King's Bench-Bar in *Weſtminſter*, where the Records of his Arraignment at *Winchester* were open'd, and he demanded why Execution ſhould not be done upon him, according to the Judgment therein pronounc'd againſt him? *Raleigh*, by way of Anſwer, began to juſtify himſelf in the Procedings of the late Voyage: but the Lord Chief-Juſtice wiſh'd him to ſpare that Trouble, for there was no other Matter in Queſtion but the former Judgment, which the King would have executed upon him, for ſome Occaſions beſt known to himſelf, unleſs he could ſhew good Cauſe to the Contrary.

Sir *Walter* anſwer'd, that he was told by his Council, *That* Judgment was void by the *Commiſſion* his Majeſty was pleas'd to give him ſince, under the Great-Seal for his laſt Employment, which gave him a new Vigour and Life to that Service. The Lord Chief-Juſtice reply'd, that He was deceiv'd; and that the Opinion of the Court was to the Contrary. Sir *Walter* then deſired

that

that some reasonable Time might be allowed him to prepare for Death: but it was answer'd, That the Time appointed was the next Morning; and it was not to be doubted, but he had prepared himself for Death long since. You have been a General, said the Lord Chief-Justice, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that Noble Captain, who thrusting himself into the Middle of a Battle, cry'd aloud, *More me expectat, & Ego Mortem expectabo.* As you should not contemn, so neither should you fear Death: the one sheweth too much Boldness, and the other no less Cowardise. With some few more Instructions the Court was broke up; and *Raleigh* having a Courageous Spirit (finding the Bent of the King's Mind, and knowing Disputes to be in vain where Controversies are determin'd) acquiesc'd, and was by the *Sheriff* convey'd to the *Gate-house*, in Order to his suffering in the Old *Palace-Yard* the Morning following. Such a tender Concern for the Afflictions of his Wife hung on his Heart to the last, that, in the dead and silent Hours of the Night, before he had quite retir'd himself from the Affairs of the World, he took his Farewel of her in the following Epistle.

Sir Walter Raleigh's *Letter to his Wife after Condemnation.*

'YOU shall receive (my Dear Wife) my last Words 'in these my last Lines; my Love I send you, 'that you may keep when I am Dead, and my Counsel, 'that you may remember it when I am no more. I 'would not with my Will present you Sorrows (Dear '*Bess*) let them go to the Grave with me, and be buried 'in the Dust. And seeing that it is not the Will of 'God that I shall see you any more, bear my Destruction patiently, and with a Heart like your self.

First, 'I send you all the Thanks which my Heart 'can Conceive, or my Words Express, for your many 'Travels and Cares for me; which tho' they have not 'taken

taken Effect as you wished, yet my Debt to you is not the less; but pay it I never shall in this World.

Secondly, 'I beseech you, for the Love you bear me Living, that you do not hide your self many Days; but by your Travels seek to help my Miserable Fortunes, and the right of your Poor Child; your Mourning cannot avail me, who am but Dust.

Thirdly, 'You shall understand, that my Lands were convey'd (*bonâ fide*) to my Child; the Writings were drawn at *Midsummer* was Twelve Month, as divers can Witness, and I trust my Blood will quench their Malice who desired my Slaughter, that they will not seek also to kill you, and yours with extream Poverty. To what Friend to direct you I know not, for all mine have left me in the true time of Trial. Most sorry am I, that being thus surpriz'd by Death, I can leave you no better Estate; God hath prevented all my Determinations, that great God which worketh all in all, and if you can live free from Want, care for no more, for the rest is but Vanity: Love God, and begin betimes, in him you shall find true, everlasting, and endless Comfort; when you have travell'd and wearied your self with all sorts of Worldly Cogitations, you shall sit down by Sorrow in the End. Teach your Son also to serve and fear God, whilst he is Young, that the Fear of God may grow up in him; then will God be an Husband to you, and a Father to him, and a Father that can never be taken from you.

'*Baylie* oweth me a Thousand Pounds, and *Aryan* Six Hundred, in *Jersey* also I have much owing me. Dear Wife, I beseech you, for my Souls Sake pay all poor Men. When I am dead, no doubt, you shall be much sought unto; for the World thinks I was very Rich; have a Care to the fair Pretences of Men, for no greater Misery can befal you in this Life, than to become a Prey unto the World, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of

'God

God and the World. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, Death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the World, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Father's Sake, who loved you in his happiest Estate. I sued for my Life, but (God knows) it was for you, and yours, that I desir'd it: for know it (my Dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true Man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his misshapen and ugly Forms. I cannot write much; God knows how hardly I steal this time when all sleep; and it is also time for me to separate my Thoughts from the World. Beg my dead Body, which living was denied you; and either lay it in *Sherbourn* or in *Exeter* Church by my Father and Mother. I can say no more, Time, and Death, calleth me away. The Everlasting God, powerful, infinite, and inscrutible God Almighty, who is Goodness it self, the true Light and Life, keep you and yours, and have Mercy upon me, and forgive my Persecutors and false Accusers, and send us to meet in his Glorious Kingdom. My Dear Wife, Farewel; Bless my Boy; Pray for me, and let my true God hold you Both in his Arms.

Yours that was, but

Now not my own,

Walter Raleigh.

The next Day, by Nine in the Morning, to the deep Concern of many worthy Persons, being in the 66th Year of his Age, he was brought to the Scaffold purposely erected in the *Palace-Yard* in *Westminster*; where, with a chearful smiling Countenance saluting the Lords, and Gentlemen, and others of his Acquaintance there present, after Proclamation of Silence made, he addressed himself to them in the following manner.

'I Thank God of his infinite Goodneſs, that he hath ſent me to die in the Sight of ſo honourable and Aſſembly, and not in Darkneſs.

'As I ſaid, I thank my God heartily, that he hath brought me into the Light to die, and hath not ſuffered me to die in the dark Priſon of the Tower, where I have ſuffered a great deal of Adverſity, and a long Sickneſs; and I thank God that my Feaver hath not taken me at this time, as I prayed God it might not.

'There are two main Points of Suſpicion that his Majeſty hath conceived againſt me, and wherein his Majeſty cannot be ſatisfied, which I deſire to clear, and reſolve you of.

'One is, that his Majeſty hath been informed that I have had ſome Plot with *France*, and his Majeſty had ſome Reaſon to induce him thereto: One Reaſon that his Majeſty had to conjecture ſo, was, that when I came back from *Guiana*, being come to *Plymouth*, I endeavoured to go to *Rochel*; which was becauſe I would have fain made my Peace before I came to *England*. Another Reaſon was, that, upon my Flight, I did intend to fly to *France* for ſaving of my Life, having had ſome Terrour from above. A third Reaſon, was the *French* Agent's coming to me; and it was reported that I had Commiſſion from the King of *France*.

'But this I ſay, for a Man to call God to witneſs to a Falſhood at any time, is a grievous Sin; and what ſhall we hope for at the Tribunal Day of Judgment? But to call God to witneſs to a Falſhood at the time of Death, is far more grievous and impious, and there is no Hope for ſuch an one. And what ſhould I expect, that am now going to render an Account of my Faith? I do therefore call the Lord to witneſs, as I hope to be ſaved, and as I hope to ſee him in his

'King-

Kingdom, which *I* hope will be within this Quarter of this Hour, *I* never had any Commission from the King of *France*, nor any Treaty with the *French* Agent, nor with any from the *French* King; neither knew *I* that there was an Agent, or what he was, 'till *I* met him in my Gallery at my Lodging unlook'd for. *If I* speak not true, O Lord, let me never come into thy Kingdom.

'The second Suspicion was, that his Majesty hath been informed, that *I* should speak dishonourably, and disloyally of him; but my Accuser was a base *Frenchman*, a kind of a Chymical Fellow, one whom *I* knew to be perfidious; for being drawn into this Action at *Winchester*, in which my Hand was touch'd, and he being sworn to Secrecy over Night, revealed it the next Morning.

'But this *I* speak now, what have *I* to do with Kings? *I* have nothing to do with them, neither do *I* fear them; *I* have now to do with God, therefore to tell a Lye now to get the Favour of the King, were in vain: Therefore, as *I* hope to be saved at the last Day, I never spake dishonourably, disloyally, or dishonestly of the King; neither to this *Frenchman*, nor to any other; neither had I ever, in all my Life, a Thought of Ill of his Majesty. Therefore I cannot but think it strange, that this *Frenchman*, being so base, so mean a Fellow, should be so far credited; and so much for this Point. I have dealt truly, and hope I shall be believed: I confess, I did attempt to escape, and I did dissemble and fain my self sick at *Salisbury*, but I hope it was no Sin. The Prophet *David* did make himself a Fool, and did suffer Spittle to fall upon his Beard, to escape the Hands of his Enemies, and it was not imputed to him as Sin; and I did it to prolong time 'till his Majesty came, hoping for some Commiseration from him.

'I forgive this *Frenchman*, and Sir *Lewis Steukly*, and I have received the Sacrament this Morning of Mr. *Deay*, and

and do also forgive all the World: But this much I am bound in Charity to speak of this Man, that all Men may take good Heed of him: Sir *Leis Steukly*, my Kinsman and Keeper, hath affirmed, that I should tell him, that I should tell my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaster*, of my present Escape; but I protest, before God, I never told *Steukly* any such thing, neither did I tell my Lord *Carew*, or my Lord *Doncaster*, of my pretended Escape. It was not likely that I should acquaint two Privy Counsellors of my Purpose; neither would I tell him, for he left me 6, 7, 8, 9 or 10 Days to go where I lifted, while he rode about the Country.

'Again he accused me, that I should tell him, that my Lord *Carew*, and my Lord *Doncaster* would meet me in *France*, which was never my Speech or Thought.

'Thirdly, he accused me, that I shew'd him a Letter, and that I should give him 10000 Pounds for my Escape; but cast my Soul into everlasting Fire, if I ever made him offer of 10000 Pounds, or 1000 Pounds, but meerly I shew'd him a Letter, that if he would go with me, his Debts should be paid when he was gone; neither had I 1000 Pounds; for if I had so much, I *I* could have done better with it, and made my Peace otherways.

'Fourthly, When *I* came to Sir *Edward Pelham*, who had been sometimes a Follower of mine, who gave me good Entertainment; he gave out, that *I* had received some Dram of Poison in Sir *Edward Pelham's* House; when *I* answered, *I* feared no such thing, for *I* was well assured of them in the House. Now God forgive him, for *I* do, and *I* desire God to forgive him; *I* will not only say God is the God of Revenge; but *I* desire God to forgive him, as *I* hope to be forgiven.

'Well, thus far have *I* gone; now a little more, and *I* will have done by and by.

'It

'It was told the King, I was brought by Force into *England*, and that I did not intend to come again: Whereas Captain *Charles Parker*, Mr. *Treſham*, Mr. *Leak*, and divers others, that knew how I was dealt withal, ſhall witneſs for me: For the common Soldiers, which were 150, mutinied, and ſent for me to come into the Gun-Room to them, for at that time they would not come to me; and there was I forc'd to take an Oath, That I would not come into *England* till they would have me, or elſe they would caſt me into the Sea, and drown me. Afterwards they entred my Cabbin, and ſet themſelves againſt me. After I had taken this Oath, with Wine, and other things, I drew the chiefeſt of them to deſiſt, and at length I perſwaded them to go into *Ireland*; then would they have gone into the *North* Parts of *Ireland*: But at laſt, with much ado, I perſwaded them to go into the *South* Parts; promiſing to get their Pardons, but was forced to give them 125 Pounds at *Kingſale* to bring them Home. Otherwiſe I had never got from them.

'There was a Report that I meant not to go to *Guiana* at all, and that I knew not of any Mine, nor intended any ſuch Matter, but only to get my Liberty, which I had not the Wit to keep. But it was my full Intent to go for Gold, for the Benefit of his Majeſty, and thoſe that went with me, with the reſt of my Country-men: But he that knew the Head of the Mine would not diſcover it, when he ſaw that my Son was ſlain, but made himſelf away. My Lord *Arundel*, being in the Gallery in my Ship at my Departure, your Honour took me by the Hand, and ſaid, you would requeſt me one thing, which was, that, Whether I made a good Voyage or bad; yet I ſhould return again into *England*; when I made you a Promiſe, and gave you my Faith that I would. Another Opinion was, that I carried to Sea with me 16000 Pieces, and that was all the Voyage I intended, only to get Money into my hands, and that I had weighed my Voyage before: Whereas I proteſt I had but 100 Pounds in the World,

Whereof

whereof *I* gave 25 Pounds to my Wife. The Reason of this Speech was this; There was entred 20000 Pounds, and yet but 4000 Pounds in the Surveyor's Book; now *I* gave my Bill for the other 16000 Pounds for divers Adventures; but *I* proteſt *I* had not a Penny of Money more than 100 Pounds, as *I* hope to be ſav'd. Another Slander was raiſ'd, That *I* would have gone away from them, and left them at *Guiana*; but there were a great many worthy Men, who accompanied me always, as my Serjeant-Major *George Raleigh*, and divers others, that knew my Intent was nothing ſo. And theſe be the material Points *I* thought good to ſpeak of. *I* am now at this inſtant to render my Account to God, and *I* proteſt, as *I* ſhall appear before him, this that *I* have ſpoken is true.

'*I* will ſpeak but a word or two more, becauſe *I* will not trouble Mr. *Sheriff* too long.

'There was a Report ſpread that I ſhould rejoice at the Death of my Lord of *Eſſex*; and that I ſhould take Tobacco in his Preſence; when, as I proteſt, I ſhed Tears at his Death, though I was one of the contrary Faction: and, at the time of his Death, I was all the while in the Armoury at the further end, where I could but ſee him; I was ſorry I was not with him, for I heard he had a deſire to ſee me and be reconciled to me. So that, I proteſt, I lamented his Death, and good Cauſe had I; for it was the worſe for me as it proved, for, after he was gone, I was little beloved.

'And now, I intreat you all to join with me in Prayer, that the Great God of Heaven, whom I have grievouſly offended, being a Man full of all Vanity, and have lived a ſinful Life, in all ſinful Callings, having been a Soldier, a Captain, a Sea-Captain, and a Courtier, which are all Places of Wickedneſs and Vice; that God (I ſay) would forgive me, and Caſt away my Sins from me, and that he would receive me into

ever-

everlasting Life. So I take my leave of you all, making my Peace with God.

When the Company were order'd to withdraw from the Scaffold, he took the Lord *Arundel* by the Hand, and intreated him to desire the King, *That no Scandalous Writing, to defame him, might be publish'd after his Death*: Saying further to him, *My Lord, I have a long Journey to go, and therefore will take my Leave.* He then put off his Gown and Doublet, and call'd to the Headsman to shew him the Axe, which being not presently shewn him, *I prithee let me see it*, said he, *Dost thou think that I am afraid of?* When it was brought to him, he felt along upon the Edge of it, and turning to the Sheriff, said with a Smile, *This is a Sharp Medicine, but it is a Physitian for all Diseases.*

He then disposed himself for the Block, and after a short Prayer and a Sign given, at two Blows his Head was separated from the Body, and such a large Effusion of Blood proceeded from his Veins, that it was conjectur'd he might by the Strength of Nature have survived many Years.

This was the fatal End of the Great Sir *Walter Raleigh*, once so highly in Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and next to *Drake* the great Scourge and Terror of the *Spaniards*. A Man of extraordinary Bravery, and admirable Abilities, who in his Excellent Writings has nobly trac'd the Steps of the Divine Providence and Vengeance in the Falls of Great Men, yet after all could not escape himself.

His Death was manag'd with so high and religious a Resolution, as if a *Roman* had acted a *Christian*, or rather a *Christian* a *Roman*: So that amongst the Number who contributed to the Destruction of the Earl of *Essex*, none but he dyed pitied.

King *James*, finding that his Subjects prosecuted his Death with such Resentment, and his Memory with such

such Favour, according to the Mode of weak and ill-consulted Princes, (says *Osborne*) put forth a Declaration, shewing the Motives which induced his Majesty to recall that Mercy, thro' which Sir *Walter* had liv'd so many Years a condemn'd Man: but according to the ordinary Success of such Apologies, it serv'd to render the Condition of that Proceeding but more black in the World's Opinion.

FINIS.